ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.
ED001717	N.A.	N.A.

4. AUTHOR(S):
Bloom, Benjamin S. and others

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
Compensatory Education For Cultural Deprivation

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
N.A.

7. EDITOR(S):
N.A.

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Department of Education
University of Chicago

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
Department of Education
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.
CITY, STATE

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	6/64	55

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TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

education deprivation	health provisions	introductory learning	higher education
cultural deprivation	schools' role	Negro student	secondary school
basic needs of children	early experiences	adolescent	teacher role
	elementary school children	positive human interactions	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

The conference formulated certain generalizations.

One area under consideration was basic needs of the children. If meals (breakfast and lunch) could not be provided by the home, the school or the community should provide them. Each child should be given appropriate and frequent physical examinations; no child should be subjected to feelings of inadequacy and shame because of lack of necessary clothing.

In regard to early experiences, nursery schools and kindergarten should be organized to provide culturally deprived children with conditions for their intellectual development and with the learning-to-learn stimulation which is found in the most favorable home environments.

Evidence should be obtained on each child at the beginning of the first grade to determine the levels he has reached with regard to perceptual development, language development, and motivation for learning. There should be a number of approaches to introductory learning, and each child should be placed in the approach which is most appropriate for him.

In the early years of school, the Negro student should learn under the most positive set of human interactions. Integration can contribute most effectively to better attitudes and relations.

A major effort should be made to identify, by the beginning of secondary education, a sizeable group of deprived adolescents who could, with appropriate continual effort on the part of the school, be enabled to complete secondary education successfully and to begin higher education.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OR PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ED0017717

F EDUCATION
VEL P.IENT
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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COMPENSATORY EDUCATION FOR CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

By

Benjamin S. Bloom
Allison Davis
Robert Hess

Department of Education
University of Chicago

Based on working papers contributed by participants in the

RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

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COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

FOR

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

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University of Chicago

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in the

RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

RESEARCH CONFERENCE

ON

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

June 8 - 12, University of Chicago

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Foreword

The Research Conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation was held at the University of Chicago, June 8-12, 1964, to review what is already known about the problems of education and cultural deprivation, to make recommendations about what might be done to solve some of these problems, and to suggest the critical problems for further research.

Working in small groups as well as in meetings of the whole, the participants in the conference attempted to formulate and document a series of generalizations about education and cultural deprivation. These generalizations draw on what is known from a body of theory and principles, what is known from relevant empirical research, and what is known from observations and action programs in the school. Although as scholars and research workers we differ in our criteria of certainty, we have attempted to formulate our statements on what is known sufficiently clearly to warrant action, policy formulation, or a new way of viewing a problem or task. This is a far cry from knowledge that is certain and definitive.

The group then proceeded to indicate some of the implications of this knowledge for the work of the schools. It is this material that is the basis for this report. While all members of the group contributed to the basic materials, responsibility for the final report must rest with the Committee (Bloom, Davis, and Hess) which planned the conference and which subsequently wrote the first draft of this report. This report has been revised on the basis of suggestions and criticisms submitted by individual members of the conference. Still, it is recognized that the final responsibility for this report must be placed on the committee rather than the group as a whole.

We wish to express our gratitude to the U. S. Office of Education for encouragement and support for the Research Conference. Funds for this work were provided by the Cooperative Research Program of the U. S. Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under Contract HEW-OE-4-10-256.

Preface

Very few problems in the field of education are as complex as the problems of cultural deprivation. An adequate attack on these educational problems requires that educational policy makers, curriculum specialists, teachers, guidance workers, and administrators have an appreciation of the many ways in which the social problems of our society bear directly on the development of the child and adolescent and influence the interaction between students and the schools.

We find very few individuals who have a thorough grasp of how the many disciplines of the behavioral sciences are involved in understanding or attacking these problems. In order to secure a more comprehensive picture of the problems of education and cultural deprivation, we found it necessary to bring together leading specialists from many different disciplines. With the aid of background papers and an extensive annotated bibliography, we were able to get working groups in the Research Conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation to analyze the problems with due recognition of the many facets of these problems.

In this report we have attempted to summarize what we regard as known about the nature of cultural deprivation, especially as it relates to the educational process. This summarization is made as clearly and as simply as we could find the words to express it. We have tried to inform the readers of this report as to the bases on which we made this analysis by a series of appendix notes and by the references we have cited.

It is our hope that this material will be used by groups of teachers, other educational specialists, and community groups in order to inform themselves about what is already known about education and cultural deprivation. It is to be hoped that these materials will be used in seminars and discussions by teachers in every school which has some children who suffer from cultural deprivation. In order to simplify this process, we have organized our report so as to approximate the different levels of education in the schools as they are now organized. While there may be some room for interpretation of this knowledge, we do not expect that the careful reader will find himself in serious disagreement with this aspect of our work.

We have then gone on to make clear what we believe the implications of this knowledge to be for the schools, the communities, and the nation. Here we attempt to make clear a set of value positions as to where responsibility rests for the solution of these problems. We have tried to be as explicit as possible about these value positions. They express the views of a careful and objective group of social scientists about what is realistically possible in our society. Here, we do expect that there will be disagreement in schools and communities about the placement of responsibility for attacking these problems. There are differences in emphasis in social philosophy

about the home, the school, and the community and we hope that such differences will be made as explicit as possible and then examined in the light of alternative views of these issues. However, we would urge that school and community groups use this report as a basis for recognizing when they differ on the relevant knowledge and information and when they differ on the value issues and the placement of responsibility.

Finally, we have made a series of recommendations for dealing with these problems insofar as they affect the schools and education. Here is where we expect that school and community groups will differ most sharply from us and from each other. It is our hope that such groups will study these recommendations very carefully and will read the supporting appendix notes and references before discarding or accepting these recommendations. There must be a variety of alternative solutions to these problems. We would urge that groups which take exception to our recommendations propose alternatives which are as carefully conceived as we have tried to make ours. To do nothing is really not an alternative to the recommendations we have made in this report.

Thus, we hope that this report and the supporting documentation will enable school personnel, community groups, and state and national bodies and organizations to study and eventually to solve a series of educational and social problems which are very far reaching in their scope--the problems of education and cultural deprivation.

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Fourth, a rising level of affluence which makes further material goals for many individuals somewhat subordinate to other goals such as security and interpersonal relations. There is an increasing quest for personal identity and a set of values which will make life more meaningful.

These forces and changes in the society and culture will not permit any social institution to meet the new conditions and needs without modification, whether the institution be government, business and industry, religion, welfare, or education. It is these forces which require a major reshaping of our educational institutions.

It is difficult at present to determine the exact way in which educational institutions in the United States will be reshaped over the next decade. It is likely that one major change will be a shift in the conception of education from a status-giving and selective system to a system that develops each individual to his highest potential.[3] Also, almost all students in the more highly developed nations will need to complete at least secondary education.

It is clear that educational planning must begin with an analysis of the social changes taking place, the new tasks and responsibilities of individuals in a changing society, and the potential for education to prepare individuals for the new society. While this is not the place to consider these long-term problems in detail, it is possible to indicate some of the new demands on education. Briefly, these are likely to emphasize some of the following goals for education:[4]

a. There must be increasing emphasis on the higher mental processes of problem-solving rather than the existing stress on information learning. Only as individuals develop skill in the more complex types of thinking will they be able to cope with the many new problems they must face in their educational and post-educational careers in a rapidly changing society.

b. There must be increasing emphasis on the basic ideas, structure, and methods of inquiry of each subject field rather than on the minutiae of the subject matter. Individuals must be able to cope with the rapidly expanding and changing body of knowledge in each field and they must be able to find the ways in which the subject fields contribute ideas and tools of thinking necessary for the larger world outside the classroom.

c. More stress must be placed on "learning to learn" than has previously been true. Each person is likely to have to relearn his own occupation a number of times during his career. Furthermore, learning must continue throughout life if the individual is to cope with the changing nature of the society, the many new demands on him, and his own possibilities for self-actualization and fulfillment.

d. Increasing stress must be placed on those aspects of interests, attitudes, and personality which will promote the further growth of the individual, enable him to find satisfaction in the things he does, and help him to find meaning and fulfillment in his life.

> The effects of automation, the shorter work week, urban living, and the fast pace of change on the national as well as international scene require individual character development which will enable each person to live with himself and with others under conditions very different from those which have prevailed.

But these are the long-term changes which will require a new conception of the task of the schools, a new orientation to teacher training and school organization, and new developments in the curriculum, teaching methods, and views about the role of the student, the teacher, the administrator, and even parents.[5] While we do possess some of the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, we shall need new knowledge and new types of educational leadership to make these long-term changes effectively. In the light of the vast changes taking place, we are all culturally deprived. A new culture is rapidly emerging and the home and the school at present do not effectively prepare the young for adaptation to and, even, survival in this new culture.[6] This task is so great that all of us must have some tendency to shrink from the great demands it will place on us.

But, there is a much more immediate problem. This is in some ways an easier problem to attack and it must be solved in the present. We cannot wait for a decade in which to gradually find solutions for this problem.

In the present educational system in the U.S. (and elsewhere) we find a substantial group of students who do not make normal progress in their school learning. Predominantly, these are the students whose early experiences in the home, whose motivation for present school learning, and whose goals for the future are such as to handicap them in schoolwork. This group may also be defined as those who do not complete secondary education. As a first estimate, we would include the approximately one-third of the high-school entrants in the nation who do not complete secondary school.[7] This figure is higher in many cities where slum living and educational segregation enlarge the problem.

It is this group with which we are at present concerned. We will refer to this group as culturally disadvantaged or culturally deprived because we believe the roots of their problem may in large part be traced to their experiences in homes which do not transmit the cultural patterns necessary for the types of learning characteristic of the schools and the larger society.

A large proportion of these youth come from homes in which the adults have a minimal level of education. Many of them come from homes where poverty, large family size, broken homes, discrimination, and slum conditions further complicate the picture.

While this group does include such in-migrants to the urban areas as Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and southern-rural Negroes and whites, it also includes many individuals who were born in the large cities. It also includes many individuals living in small towns and rural areas. The designation of cultural deprivation should not be equated with membership in an ethnic group, but should be defined in terms of characteristics of the individual and/or the characteristics of his environment.[8]

Cultural deprivation should not be equated with race. It is true that a large number of Negro children, especially those from homes with functionally illiterate parents, are likely to be culturally deprived. However, it is likely that as many as one-third of the Negro children in the large cities of the U.S. are at least the equal of the white norms for educational development. It should, however, be recognized that dramatic attention to the problems of cultural deprivation has come from the civil rights movement, as well as from the rearrangement of whites and Negroes in the large cities with regard to place of residence and school attendance.

A central factor in the entire problem of education and cultural deprivation is the rapidly changing economy and job-distribution system which requires more and better education for the entire population.[9] It is this new set of requirements which force changes in education to meet the special problems of cultural deprivation in various groups in our society. In years to come, we are likely to be grateful to the civil rights movement for its contribution in bringing about much-needed educational changes. To delay these changes any longer would result in crises (disaffected youth, unemployable adults, and an economically disabled group) of even greater significance than those crises brought about more directly by the civil rights movement.

The task of changing the schools of the U.S. from a selective system which rewards and finally graduates only the more able students to one which develops each individual to his fullest capabilities is a difficult one. This task was started with the development of free public education through the secondary level and the compulsory school-attendance laws. That the schools of the U.S. now do give opportunity for all is, with some exceptions, generally true. The inequalities in the opportunities for education are well established. However, what is now required is not equality of <u>access</u> to education. What is needed to solve our current as well as future crises in education is a system of compensatory education which can prevent or overcome earlier deficiencies in the development of each individual. Essentially, what this involves is the writing and filling of educational prescriptions for groups of children which will enable them to realize their fullest development. Compensatory education as we understand it is not the reduction of all education to a least common denominator. It is a type of education which should help socially disadvantaged students without reducing the quality of education for those who are progressing satisfactorily under existing educational conditions.

It is in this context that a carefully selected group of leaders in educational and social science research met at the University of Chicago in June, 1964. One task this group worked on was the attempt to state what we now know about cultural deprivation and education.

In the following sections we have attempted to state in brief form what is now known about some of the relationships between deprivation and learning. The basis for these statements is set forth in a series of appendix notes which the interested reader may examine in more detail. Then, we have tried to state a general position with respect to the responsibility for solutions to these problems. Finally, we have suggested some of the implications

of this knowledge and responsibility for the work of the schools. These implications have been formulated in a series of recommendations for the schools, the communities, as well as the nation.

Since the school organization is at present an age-graded system, we have organized this report with respect to the critical age and developmental periods for education and cultural deprivation. We believe that this organization of the report will help those especially concerned with a particular level of education find the material most relevant to their educational problems.

Basic Needs

Section 2

There is almost unanimous agreement that the prior satisfaction of the so-called basic needs is necessary before human beings can become concerned with and perform higher-level functions. With children, the adequate satisfaction of nutritional needs and the need for sleep and rest heightens the probability of their being able to perform competently in school situations. Adequate living conditions, clothing, exercise, and the availability of medical care--all contribute to the heightened probability of increased capability in school situations.[10]

For children of low-income families, public health statistics generally confirm the increased incidence of gross organ deficiencies (for example, dental problems, defective vision, impaired hearing) as well as diseases commonly associated with adverse economic circumstances, such as tuberculosis. In addition, there are a variety of illnesses of a debilitating nature that are commonly not treated in this group and sap their energies. Included here are various specific deficiency problems and parasitic invasions.

These deficiencies in basic needs operate to influence learning in a number of ways. Much of the energy and attention of the child is directed to his immediate needs and he is less able to attend to learning and school tasks which must seem to him as less urgent and obviously not very relevant to his present state. Even if the child does become accustomed to a lower level of living and to the rare feeling of well-being, he may have such a low level of energy as to be easily fatigued and to have relatively little endurance for the complex and demanding tasks of learning.[11] Furthermore, the satisfaction of immediate goals becomes more important to these children and their parents and less energy is available for distant goals or long-range planning. Present-time orientation becomes far more central in their conception of things than future-time orientation--and much of education and learning is necessarily for some future time.

When children learn that their basic needs cannot be adequately provided for in a dependable way, they too often adopt a fatalistic attitude which generalizes to alter their patterns of living. Their ability to cope with the environment--to see light ahead--is impaired. Such passivity and defeatism (and, possibly, hostility) stemming from need deprivation is learned by the child from both the realities of living and from the parents who, through their daily behavior, communicate a general attitudinal orientation. This general attitude orientation can do much to give the child a self-fulfilling prophecy in which he expects to be frustrated in meeting his basic needs and in turn his expectations determine his views about himself and his environment. This prophecy, which is repeatedly verified, has basic consequences on personality and character.[12]

While we must not confuse biological deprivation with cultural deprivation, there is little doubt that very frequently the two are associated, especially in the more poverty-stricken groups in our society. We do wish to emphasize that meeting these physical needs does not, by itself, lead to better learning. The adequate meeting of the basic needs merely sets the stage for the more direct attack on the problems of learning in this group.

Some Implications for the Schools

We do not regard the schools as having major responsibility for solving problems of poverty, but it is clear that the schools have a responsibility in helping school children meet these basic biological needs and especially so when adequate school learning is partially blocked by these need deficits. In our society parents take pride in "providing for their children" and the permanent "taking over" of such functions by the school or the community can have an adverse effect on the parents' sense of adequacy. Insofar as possible, provision for children should be made by their parents. However, we wish to stress that the physical needs of the children must be met and that no child should be expected to learn under conditions likely to nullify the efforts of the teacher and the school.

We have listened to many anecdotes about "heroic" school principals who provided special services such as dental care, clothing, and food either on their own or in violation of school regulations. While we might applaud such efforts, we are inclined to believe that these are the exceptions and that many children must do without because there is no way in which such basic needs can be met within the present school regulations.

That children should struggle to learn under such handicaps should be regarded as a serious indictment of school regulations and community morality. No child should be permitted or expected to learn under such adverse circumstances as hunger, fatigue, disease, or impaired bodily functions. If it is the school regulations which are at fault, they must be changed. If it is the lack of food and other provisions, action at the community, state, or national level should be quick and adequate.

Recommendations

1. Each child should be assured of an adequate breakfast to help him begin the learning tasks of the day. Each child should also be assured of a mid-day meal. If these meals cannot be provided by the home, they should be provided by the school or the community in such a way that no child feels a sense of shame or special distinction.[13]
2. Each child should be given appropriate and frequent physical examinations by nurses, doctors, and dentists to determine special needs with respect to fatigue, disease, and dental, visual, and hearing problems. If these health services cannot be provided by the parents, it is the responsibility of the school and the community to see that they are taken care of.

3. No child should be subjected to feelings of inadequacy and shame because of lack of necessary clothing. If these needs cannot be provided by the parents, it is the responsibility of the school and community to see that each child is adequately clothed.

Early Experience

Section 3

It is clear that children do not come to school equally prepared for the learning tasks of first grade. This statement will not come as a surprise to elementary-school teachers who have always had to deal with such differences. However, the research of the past decade has been of great value in helping us understand not only how the children may be different in their responsiveness to learning experiences but also how some of these differences come to be.

Until recently, differences in children's I.Q. were attributed largely to native endowment; very little of the variation was attributed to the effects of environment. The more recent research has demonstrated that for children growing up under adverse circumstances the I.Q. may be depressed by a significant amount and that intervention at certain points (and especially in the period from ages three to nine) can raise the I.Q. by as much as ten to fifteen points. Such effects have been most clearly demonstrated for childrendren with initial I.Q.'s of less than 110. While there is nothing sacred about the I.Q., it has been a useful indicator of general learning capability in the schools. A change in I.Q. is symptomatic of a change in general learning capability and this is likely to be verified by more direct measures of school learning. Furthermore, the measurement of the culturally deprived child's intelligence at one point does not determine the upper limits of what he might be able to learn in the schools if more favorable conditions are subsequently provided in the home and/or in the school.[14]

Research reveals the aspects of the home environment which seem to be most significant in affecting the level of measured intelligence of the child as well as his school learning. In most general terms these may be described as involving provisions for general learning, models and help in language development, and parental stimulation and concern for achievement and learning on the part of the child. For the most part, it is the adults in the home who serve to stimulate the child's intellectual development.[15] Other research reveals the very early development of the child's language and cognition and the extent to which further growth takes place each year.[16]

While such empirical research does reveal some of the characteristics of the home environment which relate to and which influence the development of intelligence, it does not reveal the dynamic process by which the interaction between the child and the world about him takes place. Theoretical analyses and clinical types of investigations help to reveal something of the process by which intellectual development takes place in early childhood.

Beginning very early, the child comes to perceive many aspects in the world about him. This perceptual development takes place through the sensory modalities such as vision, hearing, touch, and even taste and smell. This development continues in more and more complex ways as the child approaches the beginning of formal schooling at age six. Perceptual development is stimulated by environments which are rich in the range of experiences available; which make use of games, toys, and many objects for manipulation; and in which there is frequent interaction between the child and adults at meals, playtimes, and throughout the day. At the beginning of the first grade there are

differences between culturally deprived and culturally advantaged children in the amount and variety of experiences they have had and in their perceptual development. Although differences in perceptual development are less evident by age nine, it is likely that the differences present at age six make for differences in school learning in the first few grades. The typical middle-class home provides a very complex environment for the child's early perceptual development, and this gives these children some advantage in the early years of school.[17]

Linked to this perceptual development of the child is his linguistic development. As the child comes to perceive the world about him, he is able to "fix" or hold particular objects and events in his mind as he is given words or other symbols to "attach" to them. "Mama" and "Dadee" become representations of the important adults in his life. "Bottle," "cup," "dog," become symbols for appropriate objects in the environment. The adults in middle-class homes characteristically tend to use words so freely and easily that they teach them to the child at almost every opportunity. They encourage the child to say the word aloud, correct him when he says it incorrectly or applies it to the wrong object or event, and reward him when he uses the word or symbol correctly. This corrective feedback, which seems to be essential to the learning of language in relation to experience, is more readily available to the culturally advantaged child than it is to other children.

As the child attempts to communicate with others, and especially with his parents, he uses a relatively crude and limited language. In many middle-class homes, the child's language is extended by the parent's responses to his statements and questions. In culturally deprived homes, the parent is more likely to respond to the child with a monosyllable or to nod the head without using any words. The point of this is that one major difference between culturally deprived and more advantaged homes is the extension and development of the speech of children. Such differences have become very evident as a result of the studies done in various homes where parents are observed interacting with their children.[18]

As a child develops more complex language, he becomes more able to perceive aspects of his environment, to abstract such aspects and to fix them in his memory, and to gain considerable control over his environment through the use of language. The frequent use of language in relation to his environment and the people in it enables the child to use words and language as tools for thought. Furthermore, the child becomes able to use language to express his own emotions, intentions, and desires. He is able to consider alternatives with regard to his emotions and to develop ways of delaying the gratification of his desires. Finally, the child develops his ability to compare, differentiate, and abstract aspects of his environment as well as his own thoughts and emotions.[19] Here again the child in the culturally advantaged home is given a great deal of opportunity to use language in these more complex ways, while the child in the disadvantaged home has less opportunity to develop in this way.

Put in other terms, the child in many middle-class homes is given a great deal of instruction about the world in which he lives, to use language to fix aspects of this world in his memory, and to think about similarities, differences, and relationships in this very complex environment. Such instruction is individual and is timed in relation to the experiences, actions, and questions of the child. Parents make great efforts to motivate the child, to reward him, and to reinforce desired responses. The child is read to, spoken to, and is constantly subjected to a stimulating set of experiences in a very complex environment. In short, he "learns to learn" very early. He comes to view the world as something he can master through a relatively enjoyable type of activity, a sort of game, which is learning. In fact, much of the approval he gets is because of his rapid and accurate response to this informal instruction in the home.

"Learning to learn" should not be confused with the early teaching of the child to read, to spell, and even to do simple arithmetic. Such coaching in the home is merely trying to do the school's task before the child enters public education. "Learning to learn" is a far more basic type of learning than coaching the child on school learning. It includes motivating the child to find pleasure in learning. It involves developing the child's ability to attend to others and to engage in purposive action. It includes training the child to delay the gratification of his desires and wishes and to work for rewards and goals which are more distant. It includes developing the child's view of adults as sources of information and ideas, and also as sources of approval and reward. Through such development the child changes his self-expectations and his expectations of others.[20]

While all of this is not absent in the culturally deprived home, it does not play such a central role in child rearing in such homes. The size of the family, the concern of the parents with the basic necessities of life, the low level of educational development of the parents, the frequent absence of a male parent, and the lack of a great deal of interaction between children and adults all conspire to reduce the stimulation, language development, and intellectual development of such children.[21]

If the home does not and cannot provide these basic developments, the child is likely to be handicapped in much of his later learning and the prognosis for his educational development is very poor. Such a child is likely to have difficulty and to be constantly frustrated by the demands of the typical elementary-school program. His frustrations and disappointments in school are likely to have an adverse effect on his view of himself and his main desire must be to escape from the virtual imprisonment which school comes to represent for him.[22]

Implications for the Schools

Ideally, the early intellectual development of the child should take place in the home. Some efforts have been made to help parents learn how to teach their children. Under some conditions this is likely to be fruitful. But we must express pessimism about such possibilities when the total syndrome of poverty, broken homes, slum living, large families, and illiteracy all conspire against the intellectual development of the child. To point out

the small number of exceptional children who are able to overcome these handicaps is not to prove that these conditions have no effect: it is to demonstrate the rarity of the exceptions to the general effects of cultural deprivation.

All later learning is likely to be influenced by the very basic learning which has taken place by the age of five or six. If adequate basic learning cannot be provided in the home, it is the responsibility of the schools to insure that the culturally deprived children have as good a set of initial skills and intellectual development as children from more culturally advantaged homes. This position may be taken in the interest of the individual child. But also, this position may be taken to insure that the work of the schools for the next ten years will not be largely wasted because of what has taken place in the previous two or three years. Careful studies in the U.S. and other countries demonstrate that it is possible to bring culturally deprived children up to satisfact ory stages of readiness for the regular school learning.[23] If this can be done on a broader base, then the regular learning procedures of the schools which are now quite effective for the advantaged children are also likely to be effective for the culturally disadvantaged children.

While we would advocate that the intellective training of the child be done in the home and by the parents, if they cannot do it adequately, the school is the logical social agency to do it.

Recommendations

1. Nursery schools and kindergartens should be organized to provide culturally deprived children with the conditions for their intellectual development and the learning-to-learn stimulation which is found in the most favorable home environments.

Such nursery schools and kindergartens should be very different from the nursery schools and kindergartens commonly used for middle-class children. These nursery schools and kindergartens must systematically provide for the intellectual development of the child. Much learning can take place through games, concrete materials (blocks, toys, objects), and dramatic play. The adult teachers must provide a supportive structured environment in which being read to, music, and art are enjoyable social experiences for the children. Specifically, the primary task of these nursery schools and kindergartens should be to provide for:[24]

a. Stimulation of children to perceive aspects of the world about them and to fix these aspects by the use of language.

b. Development of more extended and accurate language.

c. Development of a sense of mastery over aspects of the immediate environment and an enthusiasm for learning for its own sake.

d. Development of thinking and reasoning and the ability to make new insights and discoveries for oneself.

e. Development of purposive learning activity and the ability to attend for longer periods of time.

2. A national commission composed of teachers and other specialists should be created to co-ordinate and to develop curricular guidelines, materials, and methods for this special type of nursery school-kindergarten.

This commission should be charged with responsibility for experimenting with alternative approaches to these problems and for evaluating the effectiveness of such curricula with different groups of children.

3. The teachers for this new type of nursery school-kindergarten should be carefully trained for the very specific set of tasks they must assume. Essentially, these teachers should be trained to do for many children what very good parents can do for a small number of their own children.

There is an urgency about this problem and it is likely that some of the training will have to be done while the teachers are actually in the schools. Volunteer workers (including parents) and adolescent assistants could do much to help provide the necessary conditions for learning in these nursery school-kindergartens.

4. The parents must be sufficiently involved in the nursery school-kindergarten to understand its importance for their child and to give support and reinforcement to the tasks of these special schools. The parents should be so committed to this type of school that they are willing to do everything possible to insure the continuity of the child's school experiences.

Ideally, the parents should learn the appropriate communication patterns so that they can do much of this on their own with their own children. One might foresee the time when most parents can provide such stimulating home environments for the development of their children that special nursery school-kindergartens will not be widely needed. To this end, every effort should be made to have parents serve as part-time assistants and observers in these schools.

Elementary School

Section 4

During the past three decades there has been a tremendous influx into the large cities of children who do not seem able to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the conventional elementary school. Methods and materials which have served the average child well do not seem to help the culturally disadvantaged child acquire the vital communication and computation skills which are so necessary to achievement of educational goals. Conventional approaches to the acquiring of these skills make learning demands on disadvantaged children which they simply are not able to meet. The gaps between the learning tasks and the "readiness" of the children are a source of frustration to the teachers as well as the children. All too quickly, the teacher and the child are ready to give up the struggle--both with a terrible sense of being defeated.[25]

As was pointed out in the previous section, the culturally deprived child comes to school with deficits in learning sets and the ability to "learn to learn." Since he lacks particular experiences and since he is at a relatively low level of linguistic development, he is usually not ready to begin his learning at the same level and by the same approach as is characteristic of children from favorable cultural environments. Unless the school reshapes its curriculum and methods to begin with the child where he is, learning cannot proceed in a fruitful and meaningful way.

Present school practices do not succeed in overcoming the initial differences between culturally advantaged and culturally disadvantaged children. Instead, what start as small measurable differences in the first grade become larger each year. By the end of the sixth year of school, there is a cumulative deficit in the school achievement of the culturally disadvantaged children which shows up most clearly in the tool subjects of reading and arithmetic. But, even in the measures of general intelligence many of these children appear to decline during the period of grade 1 to grade 6. It is this cumulative deficit which must be reversed as early as possible in the culturally deprived child's school career.[26]

The child from the culturally deprived home comes to school with an interest in the new experiences but without some of the experiences, skills, and values typical of the middle-class child. The culturally advantaged child has been amply rewarded for his previous learning, and he is likely to begin school valuing achievement (and specifically school achievement) as a good in its own right. In contrast, the culturally deprived child has difficulty in learning for its own sake and in learning for the approval of an adult. He values things and activities which are concrete and which have immediate and tangible rewards. He has difficulty in seeing the relevance of much of school learning since he is unable to comprehend fully or accept the deferred and symbolic gratification that the middle-class child has come to accept.[27] As each year of school goes by, the culturally disadvantaged child suffers further frustration and failure. He is rarely rewarded or approved in the school and is penalized and disapproved of more strongly each year. As this increasing failure becomes apparent to the child and to all who are concerned with him (parents, teachers, school administrators), the child becomes alienated from the school program. He recognizes that there is little likelihood

that he will get satisfaction from his schoolwork and he seeks satisfying experiences elsewhere. He usually turns to his peers for more satisfying relations than he has with adults. For this as well as for other reasons, the peer group becomes more central in the life of lower-class children far earlier than it does for middle-class children.

The culturally deprived child has some special difficulties because the school learning environment and materials are so very different from the settings which are familiar to him. However, it is in the reduced physical activity of the school and in the demand for long spans of attention that he is at a special disadvantage as compared with children from culturally advantaged homes. It is difficult for him to learn to be quiet and to attend to a flow of words (many of which he does not understand) from the teacher.

The elementary school teacher is expected to use the conventional materials and methods of the elementary school curriculum for all children. As the teacher becomes frustrated because of the relatively poor progress of the culturally disadvantaged children, she is likely to place the blame on the children (or their parents) rather than on the curriculum and methods of instruction. The discouragement of the teacher is communicated to the children. Finally, the teacher faced with restless children learning poorly views her task as primarily one of maintaining discipline and order. Teacher and child alike seek ways of getting out of what has come to be a bad situation for both.[28] While it is possible for the teachers and school administrators to blame the home and the parents for the difficulties these children have in learning, this placement of blame does little good for the child or the teacher who must deal with him. Furthermore, this placement of blame does little to attack the central problem which is the improvement of the learning of the child as early as possible in his school career.

The first three years of the elementary school are critical. If learning is not successful and satisfying in these years, the entire educational career of the child is seriously jeopardized. The child's interest in school learning, the problems of the school dropout, and the educational and vocational career of the individual are largely determined by what takes place in the first few years of public school.[29]

Even more serious than the lack of effective conventional school learning is the effect of continuous failure on the child's image of himself and his attitude toward others. It is a serious blow to one's pride to suffer failure time and time again. Success gives one courage to attempt more and more complex tasks--failure does not.[30]

Some Implications for the Schools

Since the present introductory years of the elementary school do not effectively prepare the culturally deprived child for the later years of school, it is the clear responsibility of the schools to devise a more effective school program for these children.

The development of a more effective school program for these children can do much to help them solve the learning tasks of the school and at the same time acquire a more adequate self-image. It is in the interest of the school to halt the cumulative deficits of these children as early as possible in order to make later instruction and learning increasingly effective. Ideally, a solution to the learning problems of these children in the first few grades of elementary school should mean that the existing school programs at later grades are likely to become more effective, and there will be less need for drastic modification of these school curricula.

It would be most efficient and effective if the early learning in the home prepared these children for the elementary school. Where the home cannot provide this preparation, it would be in the interests of the child and the school if this could be done during the nursery school-kindergarten period. If circumstances prevent these solutions or attacks on the problem, then the earlier in the elementary school that appropriate school programs are made available to these children, the better for all concerned.

There is increasing evidence that elementary school programs have been developed which reduce the cumulative deficits in learning. Some of these school programs appear to have such powerful effects in the improvement of reading, language (including speech), and arithmetic that the differences between culturally disadvantaged and culturally advantaged children become very small.[31]

The schools must recognize the complexity of the educational problem of these children and must not expect to solve these problems by some single change such as a new textbook, a more favorable teacher-pupil ratio, a teaching machine, etc. The basic problem is to start with the child where he is and to proceed by a carefully developed and sequential program to bring him up to a level where he can learn as well as other children and eventually under the same conditions as other children.

If an effective program of nursery school and kindergarten education has already been established, there should be less need for marked changes in the methods and curriculum of the elementary school. The following recommendations are made on the assumption that the majority of culturally deprived children still begin school at Grade 1 and that this will be true for some time to come.

Recommendations

1. Evidence should be obtained on each child at the beginning of the first grade to determine the levels he has reached with regard to perceptual development, language development, ability to attend, and motivation for learning.

Such evidence may be obtained by the use of previous records and special tests as well as by observing the child in actual learning situations for several weeks. On the basis of this evidence, an educational prescription should be written for the child and he should be placed with others in an appropriate section with a teacher who can best provide what he needs.[32]

2. In each school, there should be a number of approaches to introductory learning, and each child should be placed in the approach which is most appropriate for him.

Some of these approaches might stress early learning and readiness, others could stress an experience approach to language and reading; and, still others might stress the present regular programs of reading and arithmetic. Ideally, each teacher should become a specialist in a particular approach to learning as well as a specialist in dealing with a particular range of learning problems.

Since these first years are so important, these should be the years in which each teacher has the smallest number of children (preferably less than 20); each teacher should be aided by specialists in speech, reading, and school psychology; and each teacher should be aided by a pool of curriculum materials, games, self-learning devices, and other learning materials. The use of teaching aids and assistants can do much to improve the effectiveness of instruction in these grades.

3. The emphasis in the first three years of elementary school should be on the development of each child with careful evaluation records of his progress toward clear-cut tasks and goals. In these years, the child should not be failed or expected to repeat a grade or year. The careful sequential development of each child must be one of continual success at small tasks.[33]

4. A national commission of teachers and other specialists should be created to co-ordinate and to develop the curricular guidelines, materials, and methods for the first three years of elementary school for culturally deprived children. This commission should develop several alternative approaches to the problem and should evaluate the effectiveness of such curricula.

Much of the initial work of this commission may be to appraise the effectiveness of some of the promising approaches already being used in some of the schools in large cities.

5. The teaching staff for the first three years of school should be carefully selected and should have many opportunities for in-service education on the curriculum problems of these years. They should be so organized that they can provide continuity and sequential development for each child. They should regard their central task as helping each child master the fundamental skills in language, reading, and arithmetic as well as develop a general skill in learning itself.

The teachers must be free to try new approaches to these goals and should regard themselves as the key persons in helping each child create the base on which the entire educational (and vocational) future of the individual depends. Salary, status, and training should be commensurate with this great responsibility.

6. Since the home is so important in the work of the schools--especially in the elementary school period--every effort must be made to strengthen the relation between the home and the school. Parents must be involved in such a way that they can understand the importance of this level of schooling and so that they can provide support and reinforcement for the learning tasks of the school. Both teachers and parents must come to understand the ways in which the learning progress of all children is a dual task involving home and school.

The schools must find ways of involving parents by imaginative devices such as special tutoring by the more able parents. Most central is the recognition by teachers and parents of the role of the parents in raising the aspirations of children and in the valuing of education and learning as a major means of gaining security and mobility.[34]

It is hoped that the involvement of the home and appropriate changes in school district regulations[35] to reduce pupil transfers will do much to increase the continuity of relationship between each child and his teacher. This continuity is important in insuring sequence of learning and the establishment of the necessary human relationships for effective learning.

7. For culturally disadvantaged children who have not had the benefits of a revised curriculum in the first years of school there should be an all out effort to halt the cumulative deficits in learning achievement at the later grades. While this is likely to be increasingly difficult as the child gets older, every resource should be available to the teachers at these levels. If it is necessary to sacrifice some aspects of the curriculum in order to bring these children to higher levels of achievement, the emphasis should be on the language development of the child, reading, and arithmetic.

A longer school day, summer programs, small group instruction, teacher assistants and tutoring programs, the aid of specialists, the use of diagnostic instruments, and the development of more effective instructional materials for this age group should all contribute to the educational development of these children.[36]

Special Case of the Negro Student

Section 5

The Negro child who is culturally deprived has all the learning problems of other culturally deprived children. However, in addition to these problems he suffers from the special problems created by the prejudices and attitudes of others.

For 100 years, the major economic and cultural deterrents to achievement in school on the part of Negro students--and they are tragically destructive forces--have been, and still remain those described below.

The organized system of economic, political, and educational subordination of Negroes, both in the South and in the North, has systematically barred Negroes from skilled or white-collar jobs in business, industry, or government. For generations, an economic blockade has been maintained against Negroes, with the result that most of them felt that there was nothing to be gained by being educated. Most of those who obtained an education found no openings except in teaching in Negro schools, and in the U. S. Postal Service. A very few worked in Negro insurance companies or small businesses. (Except for the tiny group of Negro physicians and dentists, this was the entire educated Negro middle class 20 years ago.)

The system of segregated schools has meant inferior education for Negro children. The system of political disfranchisement in the South has supported the whole system of oppression and subordination. Without the vote, Negroes have not been able to protect themselves against political and legalized exploitation. They have not had the chance to participate as office-holders in their own government, nor even to hold clerical jobs in city and state departments, in the South, and in the vast majority of Northern towns and cities.

This system has resulted in crippling economic handicaps for the families of Negro pupils. In 1962, 60 per cent of all non-white families in the United States had incomes under $4,000, while only 26 per cent of white families were in this lowest income group. According to the standards defined by the Committee on Economic Development, at least 85 per cent of the Negro families of the deep South, from which most Negro migrants come, have incomes which place them in the bottom economic group, the most severely deprived. Their daily concern is with being able to provide food and housing for their children and themselves. They must be interested primarily in short-term goals, for their economic life has no security; food and shelter are on a week to week, or a month to month, basis.

Education and preparing for a skilled job or a profession, however, are long-term goals. One must have some economic security or stability, if one is to hope to finish high school and college. It takes at least 16 years of education to become a teacher, and usually more to become a high-school teacher or a principal. Economic deprivation inevitably weakens the interest of most Negro families and children <u>in striving for the long-term goals of education</u>.

The third deterrent to school achievement by the masses of Negro children is the cultural deprivation which results from segregation and from the poverty and lack of educational stimulus in the home. This cultural handicap includes the lack of books, lack of emphasis on reading in the home, the dialect the child learns from his family, and the level of parental interest in education.

There is a wonderful zest and expressiveness among young Negro children from low economic levels. In the schools, however, the Negro child from low economic groups is likely to lose his expressiveness and zest after he finishes kindergarten, unless he has a very insightful and skilled teacher. He is likely to lack confidence in his ability and in his future. His parents usually do not encourage him to compete in school, so that he usually lacks the drive for achievement, which is the prime incentive that middle-class parents seek to teach their children.

Within the school itself the poor relationship between teachers and pupils, the use of tests for purposes of classification rather than diagnosis, the primers and readers, and the curriculum as a whole soon damage severely the confidence and the basic self-esteem of the child from low socio-economic groups. Finally, his subordinate place in the school, as in society, tends to weaken his self-esteem. This self-depreciation is typical of all low-status groups and is the result of their being stigmatized in most relationships with dominant groups, including teachers. It results not only in a poor self-image, but often in self-contempt beneath the mask of hostility and resentment which the pupil shows to the teacher.[37]

Implications for the Schools

It is when the negative attitudes and feelings of individuals are translated into institutional practices (school, social welfare agencies, churches, police and courts, business and industry) that the Negro (or any other group) most despairs. Under these conditions there can be no hope or optimism about the future and little incentive to work for distant goals.[38]

We do not regard the school as the agency for the solution of the social ills of a society. However, we do regard the schools as providing a setting in which all can learn under as nearly ideal conditions as possible. Furthermore, the school is responsible not only for the learning of subject matter and intellectual skills, but also for the learning of basic attitudes and values.

There is considerable evidence that teachers (both white and Negro) respond differentially to white and Negro children as well as to children of different social classes.[39] We regard such differential treatment as harmful to the learning of the child as well as harmful to his own self-perception.

Recommendations

The recommendations throughout this report apply to culturally deprived children of all races and ethnic groups. In addition, the following recommendations apply to all children but are especially relevant for Negro children for the reasons indicated in this section.

1. Especially in the early years of school all children must learn under the most positive set of human interactions. Where possible, teachers should be chosen because of their ability to help young children and because they can be warm and supportive to all children.

In-service training in human relations may be of some help to teachers working with children coming from home and social backgrounds different from those of the teacher. These children need, most of all, teachers who will encourage them to try, to believe in their future, and to believe in their abilities. They are hungry for encouragement, for some reason to have confidence in themselves against the dead weight of social and economic pressures which drive them down to self-depreciation and sullen resentment.

2. Integration will contribute most effectively to better attitudes and relations when there are a great variety of ways in which children of both races engage in common activities on a one-to-one basis.[40] Such attitudes and relations are basic to the development of our society. Furthermore, integration will have little effect on cognitive learning unless the basic learning needs of the children are met by appropriate sequential patterns of learning experiences.[41] (See earlier recommendations.)

3. With very rapid changes in the civil rights movement and its effect on occupational opportunities, Negro students must have up-to-date occupational information. Also, they will need more educational and vocational guidance than other students. It is recommended that beginning with secondary school, Negro students have periodic interviews with capable guidance workers who thoroughly understand the current occupational picture. Such guidance workers should also have job placement functions for these students.

Adolescent Education

Section 6

The adolescent period is the period in which the individual attempts to create a new identity for himself and this is a period when he is especially open to new experiences which will help him determine who he is and what he might become. This is the period in which the peer group becomes very important in the life of the individual while the parents and other adults become less central than they were. This is also the period in which the individual looks to the future to determine what are the realities ahead for him and what he must do to prepare for these realities as he perceives them.

If the individual regards higher education as appropriate and available for him, his learning at the adolescent level proceeds relatively smoothly. If he does not hope and aspire for higher education and sees no relevance of secondary education for his occupational future, he "marks time" until he is permitted to drop out of school or until he completes secondary education--if pressed hard to do so.

By the beginning of secondary school, the typical culturally disadvantaged student is reading at a level approximately 3½ years below grade level. He is considerably retarded in arithmetic and other school subjects. His problem solving and abstract thinking is at a very low level as compared with others at this grade or age level. For these students there is a disaffection with school such that the student approaches learning tasks in a most apathetic manner.[42]

There is little participation in the extracurricular activities of the school other than athletics. Indeed, it would appear that most of the school activities are attractive primarily for the college-bound student.[43]

Few of the culturally deprived students at the secondary level have clear vocational goals or the motivation to persist in a learning program which may enable them to make vocational choices.[44]

Combined with these deficits in learning and motivation, many of these students have developed a level of hostility and rebellion against school authorities, teachers, and other adults which interferes with learning and which makes their own lives one of continual resentment against individuals and forces around them.

The culturally disadvantaged student has all too frequently given up hope for the future. Frustrated by the school's demands and by its repeated punishment (and lack of rewards), he sees little relevance in present school learning for the realities he perceives ahead. All that is interesting and meaningful at this stage is his membership in a peer society which finds no place for itself in the school.

The peer society provides for many lower-class youth a very exciting and rewarding life. Such a society enables him to become relatively independent of adult control. In such a society he has opportunities for becoming a

leader or for participating in significant activities under leaders he admires and with others who share a common set of interests and values. The peer society frequently provides relationships between girls and boys at a level of intensity far beyond that approved by adults or social institutions like the school, church, or community organizations. Put in other terms, the school with its emphasis on learning tasks, deferred gratifications, and adult-controlled social activity has a difficult time in competing with a peer society which offers exciting and meaningful activity with immediate and powerful rewards quite independent of adult controls.

The secondary school system has functioned as a selective system giving its major attention to the youth who are able to complete it successfully and priding itself primarily on the youth who are in college preparatory programs. The schools have not been able to find ways of reaching in a very vital way approximately one-third of the youth who begin secondary education.

It is the establishment of one's identity which is undoubtedly the central developmental task of adolescence. The individual is beginning to make a balance sheet of the negative and positive aspects of his personality and character. He sees himself as somewhat alienated and different from his parents and is groping for models of persons who best combine the characteristics he admires. He would like to become more like these models and he begins to imitate some of the more superficial characteristics of these models, that is, dress, appearance, and mannerisms. He is also desperately searching for a set of values and attitudes which will give meaning to his life and which will make him a unique individual who has worth in his own eyes, and perhaps in the eyes of others. Finally, he (or she) is seeking to establish his own adequacy as a male or female in our society. This definition of adequacy involves attractiveness to members of the opposite sex as well as adequacy as a male or female in the eyes of members of his (or her) own sex. In our society this sense of adequacy is also related to being able to enter a vocation (or marriage) which will give him sufficient material resources to enable him to lead at least as good a life as his parents. For some, this notion of a vocation includes satisfaction in the work, status, and the opportunity to contribute to others.[45]

As one views the problems of the adolescent, and especially those of the culturally disadvantaged adolescent, against the present organization and curriculum of the schools, it becomes clear that the schools are not meeting the special needs of this group. This occurs partly because the school is only one of the social institutions in the community which has a sense of responsibility for this group, and all too frequently these different social institutions have no way of working together on a common set of problems. In part, also, the schools and the other social institutions are working in traditional ways while the larger society--the city, the economy, and the government--is changing so rapidly that traditional approaches to the problem are no longer adequate. Finally, the core of the over-all problem is that a rapidly changing society raises questions about traditional values, as does the adolescent society, and there are no simple ways for developing a new set of values quickly.

Implications for the Schools (and Community)

The schools working alone can do a great deal for some culturally disadvantaged adolescents. Working alone, the schools can do somewhat less for a sizeable portion of this group. Only as the schools combine their efforts with the efforts of other community agencies and cooperate with industry and government can the problems facing the majority of these adolescents be effectively solved.

In a society which has need for a constantly increasing portion of its youth to secure higher education, some more concerted effort must be made to enable a larger portion of these youth to secure higher education. In the culturally disadvantaged group there is a sizeable proportion of the youth (perhaps one-third) who can aspire to higher education and who should be enabled to secure this higher education.

Recommendations

1. A major effort must be made to identify, by the beginning of secondary education, a sizeable group of deprived students who can with appropriate continual effort on the part of the school be enabled to complete secondary education successfully and begin higher education. These students must be offered special instructional programs, tutorial help as needed, increased counseling, and help on the basic skills and tool subjects (for example, Higher Horizons Project).[46]

It is quite possible that these students could, by a system of tutoring less able students, be able to satisfy their own needs for service to others and at the same time begin to make their own aspirations for higher education more realistic. (Thus, a system of remuneration for tutoring other students including the younger students could be supported by the state and national government so that each year the student from the 9th through the 12th grade could receive some pay while an equal amount was put in a special higher education fund to be made available when he entered a higher educational institution.) The point of all this is that each individual needs to make real his aspirations for the future while at the same time he needs to have a sense of independence as well as a sense of dedication and service to others. Such a system of earning his way by tutoring others could remove the stigma of being a special recipient of philanthropy or charity.

2. Culturally disadvantaged adolescents who are having great difficulty with the regular school curricula should have a school program which emphasizes the basic skills of language and reading and they should be permitted to specialize in an area in which they are especially interested.

Such a program would reduce the emphasis on general education courses and would permit the student to go as far as he can go in some area of specialization. Such specialization could begin as early as the 9th year of school.

It is especially important for these students to have a detailed diagnosis of their special weaknesses and strengths in the basic skills and be helped by appropriate remedial measures, tutorial instruction, and more effective curricular materials.

3. For these youth, there should be work-study plans in which students can learn in relation to the work. This requires very effective co-operation between schools, industry, and public agencies.[47]

Work on blind-alley positions which involve little opportunity for learning would have little value for the student. It is quite possible that work-study programs could be developed in which the type of work experiences are arranged in an increasing order of complexity from jobs that could be learned in a single week to jobs that require many weeks to master. If then, students could begin with simple jobs, learn them and then move to more complex jobs, they could develop some of the basic abilities of learning to work and learning to adapt to different work situations. Ideally, a student might have four to six work experiences during the age period 16 to 19. A student in these work experiences should be appropriately supervised and helped to learn both on the job and in the school. The student should be moved to as complex a type of work as he can master and increasingly his work experiences should be related to the types of jobs for which there will be greatest need in industry and the community. Students in these work-study plans will need frequent counseling in order to understand the realities of the job market in relation to their own skills and expectations. A specially trained group of counselors will be needed to help these students with their educational-vocational decisions.

4. For all youth, and especially for the culturally disadvantaged youth, there should be peer societies which have continuity over the age period 14-19 and which provide opportunities for social relations, service to others, and the development of meaningful value patterns. Such peer societies may be organized by appropriate community agencies with the co-operation of the schools.

This type of peer society requires much more than the present type of extracurricular and social activities of the high school which do not at present have a place for lower-class youth.

In these peer societies there must be a place for key adult personalities in the community. This type of peer society plays a major role in other countries and provides the youth with a meaningful set of relationships and activities. Associated with the peer society should be opportunities for counseling youth, recreational activities, and facilities for group meetings. Ideally, the peer society should enable youth to find support and help from others at a most critical stage in their lives.

Appendix Notes

Section 1

1. Buckingham (1962, p. 165) in a symposium on education and automation noted: "Less than half of U. S. employers will even consider hiring a high school dropout. Furthermore, the dropout, if hired, is the first fired, is the lowest paid, and has the least chance for advancement. Roughly 18 per cent of our unskilled workers are now unemployed. This is about double the rate for semiskilled workers. Eighty per cent of those now unemployed did not finish high school."

   Schreiber (1964a, p. 2) states that "the essential problem has . . . to do . . . with the fact that the world to which contemporary dropouts seek entrance has a diminishing place for them." Tyler (1963, p. 2) cites Bureau of Labor statistics which indicate that " . . . not only is a high school education essential for most employment, but the percentage of jobs requiring persons with a college education is increasing at a rapid rate." Wolfbein (1964) summarize current employment trends in the U. S. which show decreasing job opportunities for unskilled workers.

2. For detailed treatment of economic and social forces affecting education in the United States see: NSSE Yearbook (1961), particularly chapters by Schultz, and Bernert and Nam.

   Tyler (1963) discusses the basic facts of social change which accompany the increasing use of science and technology and the implications for education.

3. Gardner (1961) states that "what we must reach for is a conception of perceptual self discovery, perpetual reshaping to realize one's best self, to be the person one could be."

   See Robbins (1963) for a good summary of British aims and principles of higher education. These include preparation for the labor market, promotion of general powers of the mind, advancement of learning, and transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship.

4. For discussions of new goals for education see: Bruner (1960), Thelen (1960), and Guilford (1963). For a collection of essays on aims of education by such well-known writers as Conant, Lippman, and Dewey, see Callahan (1960).

5. For a comprehensive treatment of innovation in education see Miles (1964). The problems of curriculum development in a rapidly changing society are discussed by B. S. Bloom (1964b).

6. Miles (1964) notes several factors presumably responsible for the "climate of urgency and accelerated educational change." Among these are struggles for national survival, demands of an affluent society for intellectually sophisticated manpower, unemployment at semi-skilled and unskilled levels, and increase in cultural and aesthetic activities. In addition, he cites the profound influence of size and growth of the educational system.

Goodman (1964) discusses the necessity of education for leisure which is radically different from present educational efforts.

C. P. Snow's (1959) discussion of the scientific revolution and the resulting educational problems includes a treatment of British, American, and Russian attempts to cope with the problem.

7. 1959 statistics showed that for all young people 14-17 years old in public schools (73 per cent of the age group), 60 per cent graduated from high school on schedule. These figures are drawn from U. S. Office of Education (1959, p. 5).

In the 1961-62 school year, 69.6 per cent of ninth graders four years earlier graduated from high school. See American Council on Education (1964, p. 266).

8. Deutsch (1963) suggests a number of characteristics of the underprivileged environment including overcrowding, substandard housing, lack of sanitary facilities, restriction to immediate environment, scarcity of toys and creative materials, and restricted verbal communication.

Bernstein (1962) discusses differences in family structure and activities which relate to particular types of language usage and development.

Harrington (1962) describes various poverty-stricken groups in the U. S. and the conditions under which they live.

Dave (1963) has found a significant relation between home environmental factors and achievement in school.

See also Riessman (1962), Hunt (1964), and Davis (1948) for definitions and analyses of cultural deprivation.

9. The changing job market and its requirements has been analyzed by many writers. See, for example, Evans and Arnstein (1962), Watson (1963), and Miles (1964). Wolfbein (1964) gives statistics on the labor force patterns and trends, changing industrial and occupational patterns, job mobility, unemployment, and rising educational requirements of the labor market. See also Appendix Notes 1 and 2.

Section 2

10. Maslow (1954) discusses several basic needs in terms of a hierarchy in which the physiological needs must be satisfied before the desire to know and understand, as well as aesthetic needs will emerge.

Schorr (1964) suggests that "the attitudes associated with the culture of poverty--passivity, cynicism, orientation to the present--are a realistic response to the facts of poverty." He discusses the effects of malnutrition and inadequate housing on attitudes and behavior.

See also Prescott (1958) and Havighurst and Neugarten (1962).

11. The effects of physical deprivation, such as lack of nutrition, on outlook and attitudes are not very well documented. However, there are studies of adults and children during war time which indicate loss of energy, lack of ability to concentrate, loss of self-control and increased irritability. An excellent review of these studies dealing with nutrition and its effect on growth, behavior, and mental performance has been done by Breckenridge and Vincent (1962). See, also, Keys (1950).

12. See Oscar Lewis (1959) for case studies of five Mexican families in the culture of poverty. Also, Schorr (1964) and Davis (1948) who discuss psychological effects of poverty.

13. Provision of meals for school children is a common practice in many countries. In some countries, meals are available to all children regardless of the financial status of the family (for example, Denmark, Finland, Dominican Republic). In other countries, meals are provided and ability of the family is considered; many children receive meals at little or no cost (for example, Japan, Scotland, England). See UNESCO (1955, 1958) for a comprehensive survey of these facilities in the nations of the world.

Section 3

14. Data on the effects of environment on intelligence come largely from projects aimed at providing improved environments for learning. Such projects have included mentally retarded children and children from deprived homes. They include studies of the effects of short-term learning task training and extended preschool experiences. See, as examples, Brazziel and Terrell (1962); Gray and Klaus (1963); Kirk (1958); and Smilansky (1964). In addition, Lee (1951) and Klineberg (1935) have shown increases in IQ's of children who have moved from rural south to city environments.

In addition to results of intervention programs, research shows that conditions of test administration including motivational aspects, rapport, and other factors depress the intelligence test

performance of culturally deprived children. See, as illustrative, Davis (1948); Eells (1951); Douvan (1956); Haggard (1954); Klugman (1944); and Deutsch, Fishman, et al. (1964).

15. See Dave (1963); Hunt (1961); John (1963), Milner (1951), and Wolf (1964).

16. For a summary of the longitudinal research findings on the development of selected characteristics, see B. S. Bloom (1964a), especially chapters 3 and 4 dealing with intelligence and achievement data.

17. Research tends to show that the home and early environment of the culturally deprived child produces certain deficits in perceptual skills. Although there is still great need for investigation in this area, it is clear that middle-class children receive more visual discriminative experience at home and that auditory discrimination of speech patterns is more highly developed. Jansen (1965) reviews work both on animals and humans on this point. See, also, Hunt (1964), especially pages 237-239, Weaver (1963) and Deutsch (1963).

18. Research on language development points to important differences between middle-class and deprived children. The role of feedback in language development has been investigated by Casler (1961), John (1963), and Deutsch (1964a). Hess (1964a) finds marked differences between social classes in maternal teaching styles. Bernstein (1961, 1962) has investigated different linguistic codes and has demonstrated relationships between these codes and the status systems of families. This research on language points to a definite lack of preparation of deprived children to deal with language as it is used in school and to use language as an aid in conceptualizing the world.

19. Language and its effects on perception, thought, and behavior has been studied in terms of the nature of language and linguistics as well as by clinical and experimental approaches to the language development of the child during the early years. See the work of Carroll (1960), Luria (1960), Vigotsky (1962). This work has been summarized by Jensen (1965) and Berlyne (1963).

20. Harlow (1949) originally used the term "learning to learn" in his studies of learning sets. Although we do not use the term in the identical sense, the centrality of past experience and the importance of practice apply in both conceptions. In our conception, the "learning to learn" aspects of development include, among others, the incorporation of a reward system compatible with delay, a future-time perspective, adequate attention span, the valuing of educational endeavors, and the ability to use adults as resources. There is considerable research which shows that deprived children are less likely to develop these "learning to learn" behaviors and consequently will not be adequately prepared for the usual school

curriculum. For research dealing with these variables, see: Davis (1944); Deutsch (1964c); Gray and Klaus (1963); Haggard (1954); Hess (1964a) LeShan (1952) Lott and Lott (1963); Mischel (1961); Rosen (1956) and Smilansky (1961).

21. See Ausubel (1963); Deutsch (1963); Deutsch and Brown (1964); Keller (1963); Milner (1951); and Goldberg (1963).

22. Teachers who work with deprived children report that the children experience frustration and often become apathetic or rebellious in school when they cannot succeed at the curricular tasks. Smilansky (1961) reports that ratings of deprived children after first grade show marked decreases in initiative, concentration, responsiveness to adult teachers, and effectiveness of work habits as compared with their behavior a year earlier.

Theoretical writers also suggest the necessity of a school experience which is not characterized by excessive failure. In his discussion of the Juvenile Era, Sullivan (1953, p. 227) points out the importance of the school. He says, "This is the first developmental stage in which the limitations and pecularities of the home as a socializing influence begin to be open to remedy." The importance of a successful school experience is also discussed by Erikson. The stage of Industry versus Inferiority is the elementary school years. Erikson (1950, p. 227) says the child's " . . . danger, at this stage, lies in a sense of inadequacy and inferiority. If he despairs of his tools and skills or his status among his tool partners, his ego boundaries suffer, and he abandons hope for the ability to identify early with others who apply themselves to the same general section of the tool world. . . . Many a child's development is disrupted when family life may not have prepared him for school life, or when school life may fail to sustain the promises of the earlier stages."

23. There have been a number of pre-school enrichment programs which have been quite successful in raising intelligence level and other cognitive as well as motivational aspects of children's development. Although the follow-up of these children into the elementary school is still in progress in most cases, data after the preschool year give reason to believe that the children will be able to show adequate elementary school performance. For reports of such preschool and kindergarten projects, see Gray and Klaus (1963), Smilansky (1964), Hess (1964a), Baltimore Report in Research Council of Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964), and Brazziel and Terrell (1962).

24. For analyses of the elements which should be included in enrichment programs see: Hunt (1964); Smilansky (1961, 1964); Montessori (1959, 1964); Deutsch (1964b) and Ausubel (1963).

Section 4

25. See Note 22. In addition, the work of Gottlieb (1964) and S. Bloom (1960) is relevant.

26. For documentation of the cumulative deficits, see: Deutsch (1964a), Krugman (1961), Ausubel (1963), Osborne (1960), S. Bloom (1964), U. S. Office of Education (1963), Findley (1964), and Loban (1964).

27. See LeShan (1952), Mischel (1961), Rosen (1956), Rosen and D'Andrade (1959), Frankenstein (1963), Haggard (1954), Ausubel (1963), Hunt (1964) and Battle (1954).

28. See Passow (1963, p. 237) and Gottlieb (1964) regarding teachers' perceptions of slum schools. Becker (1951) and Winget (1952) have documented teacher turnover which adversely affects low-income schools. See, also, Davis (1964). For examples of programs of teacher training aimed at "holding" teachers in inner-city schools see Haubrich (1963), Cleveland Report in Research Council of Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964), and Marburger (1963b).

29. See B. S. Bloom (1964a), especially Chapter 4, Deutsch (1964c) and Niemeyer (1964).

30. See note 22, Ausubel (1963), and White (1959, 1963) who reviews the literature and discusses ego development and the idea of competence motivation.

31. For examples of promising programs at the elementary-school level see Philadelphia and Detroit Reports in Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964); S. Bloom (1964); Shepard (1963); Hess (1964b); Findley (1964) and U. S. Office of Education (1964).

32. The use of tests for diagnostic purposes has been discussed and illustrated by Anastasi (1961); Larson and Olson (1963); Kirk and McCarthy (1961); Smilansky (1964); and S. Bloom (1964). Broader considerations in the use of tests with deprived children are discussed by Deutsch, Fishman et al. (1964) and Lennon (1964).

33. The importance of a nongraded primary school is discussed by Goodlad and Anderson (1963). The work of Gagne and Paradise (1961) and Gagne et al. (1962) illustrate the sequential approach to teaching and the use of task analysis. Bruner (1964) discusses the planning of instruction. Ausubel (1963) also suggests sequential, structured instruction for the deprived child.

34. See Shepard (1963); Marburger (1963a); New York and Los Angeles Reports in Research Council of Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964) as examples of such programs and U. S. Office of Education (1964).

35. Sexton (1959) reports a very high rate of pupil turnover in schools in low-income districts. An unpublished study at the Howland School in Chicago showed that a large number of families tended to move within a relatively small area but out of school lines.

36. For some pilot programs at the later elementary and junior high school years, see Krugman (1961), Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Reports in Research Council of Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964); Koontz (1963), Landers (1963), S. Bloom (1964) and Marburger (1963a).

Section 5

37. For a comprehensive summary of the literature on ego development in the Negro ghetto child, see Ausubel and Ausubel (1963). See, also, Douglass (1960), and Pettigrew (1964).

38. Recent actions of the U. S. Supreme Court and other federal benches have been directed at eliminating prejudicial practices which have become institutionalized in law or custom on the grounds that these practices are unconstitutional and detrimental to development. See Brown et al. vs. Board of Education of Topeka, et al., decided May 17, 1954 in which the Court said: "To separate them (Negro children) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

See also Hess (1964a).

39. See Gottlieb (1964), Haubrich (1963), Kornberg (1963), Abrahamson (1952), and Havighurst and Neugarten (1962, chapter 9).

40. Research and theory support the idea that effective attitude change occurs when people participate in common activities and have direct contact. See Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia (1964) for a theoretical treatment. See Morton Deutsch (1952) and Wilner et al. (1955) for studies of attitude change in interracial housing projects. See, also, Gottlieb and Houten (1964).

41. As we have noted extensively, the cognitive and motivational patterns of these children require a curriculum which is adapted to their needs and states of readiness. Integrating classrooms without curricular adaptations will not substantially alter cognitive growth. See Katz (1964), for a review of the effects of desegregation on intellectual performance.

Section 6

42. Below-grade achievement level for deprived youth has been well documented. See Osborne (1960) and Goldberg (1963). See Siller (1957) for a study of socio-economic status and conceptual thinking. Dropout statistics clearly indicate the disaffection of the children with school. See Schreiber (1964a) and Farquhar (1964).

43. Studies have shown that participation in extracurricular activities at the high-school level is primarily limited to middle-class youth. See Abrahamson (1952), Hollingshead (1949), and Havighurst and Neugarten (1962, p. 245-46).

44. For a comprehensive summary of the guidance problems of these youth, see Schreiber (1964b), Part I.

45. Discussions of the problems of adolescence and the developmental tasks of this period may be found in Erikson (1950, 1959), and Havighurst (1953). Lynn (1962) discusses formation of sex-role identity in adolescence. The vocational development of youth is analyzed by Super, et al. (1957).

46. See Landers (1963) on the Higher Horizons Project, and Pittsburgh Project in Research Council of Great Cities Program for School Improvement (1964) which attempted to identify "more able pupils" in the later years of elementary school.

47. Case studies of a number of work-study programs now being operated can be found in Burchill (1962). At the college level, see Wilson and Lyons (1961).

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